

## Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 190075

LIMDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT ATHENS 6210 ACTION SECSTATE

29 AUGUST 1974. QUOTE:

C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 6210

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GR

SUBJECT: CARAMANLIS LETTER TO NATO ALLIES

1. POLICE COURIER LATE LAST NIGHT (AUGUST 28) DELIVERED TO EMBASSY LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD FROM PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS ON THE SUBJECT OF NATO. LETTER SETS FORTH FAMILIAR GREEK VIEWS ON NATO'S FAILURE TO HALT TURKISH MILITARY ACTIONS ON CYPRUS BUT STATES THAT BECAUSE OF NATO'S SUCCESS IN "INTRODUCING A MEASURE OF STABILITY IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND RPOMOTING A CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO INTERNATIONAL DETENTE" GREECE INTENDS TO REMAINIA MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE EVEN THOUGH IT IS LEAVING THE ORGANIZATION.

2. WHILE THE LETTER DOES NOT RPT NOT ASK FOR A REPLY, IT DOES STATE, "GREECE IS READY TO EXAIMINE WITH HER ALLIES THE PRACTICAL MEASURES CALLED FOR BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE DECISIONS."

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3. BRITISH EMBASSY ADVISES US THAT THEY RECEIVED IDENTICAL LETTER AND WE ASSUME THAT OTHER NATO EMBASSIES ARE BEING SIMILARLY FAVORED.

4. TEXT OF LETTER IS AS FOLLOWS (ORIGINAL BEING POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT):

QTE

ATHENS, 28 AUGUST 1974

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY OF ALLIANCE, TO WHICH GREECE IS A PARTY SINCE 1952, SPRANG FROM THE NEED OF ITS MEMBERS TO PROTECT THEMSELVES AGAINST THE DANGERS THREATENING OUR COMMON HERITAGE OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. ESSENTIALLY DEFENSIVE IN CHARACTER FROM ITS INCEPTION THE TREATY COULD NOT AND WAS NOT INTENDED TO ENCOURAGE AGGRESSION BY ITS SIGNATORIES EITHER AGAINST NON-MEMBER COUNTRIES OR AGAINST EACH OTHER. THE STRENGTH AND DURABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE WERE DUE TO THE APPEAL OF THE IDEALS AND THE HIGH MORAL VALUES FOR WHICH IT STOOD. IT IS EVIDENT THAT ANY DEVIATION FROM THESE IDEALS IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE VERY PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE AND UNDERMINES ITS FOUNDATIONS.

HOWEVER, RECENT EVENTS IN CYPRUS HAVE REVEALED GRAVE WEAKNESSES IN THE FABRIC OF THE ALLIANCE. FUNDAMENTAL PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY REGULATING RELATIONS AMONG MEMBER-COUNTRIES AND OBLIGATING THEM TO USE PEACEFUL MEANS FOR THE COMPOSITION OF THEIR DIFFERENCES WERE DISREGARDED. THE DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS SIGNED LESS THAN TWO MONTHS AGO WITH MUCH CEREMONY AT BRUSSELS WAS CYNICALLY FLOUTED. THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATION AMONG ALLIES WAS ABOLISHED.

AN ALLEGED CONVENTIONAL RIGHT OF ARMED INTERVENTION, NON-EXISTENT IN FACT--AS STATED TIME AND AGAIN BY GREEK REPRESENTATIVES IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL--WAS USED AS A FEEBLE AND TRANSPARENT EXCUSE FOR THE BRUTAL VIOLATION OF ARTICLES 1 AND 8 OF THE ATLANTIC TREATY.

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ARMS PROVIDED TO BE USED IN THE COMMON DEFENSE OF THE ALLIANCE WERE TURNED AGAINST AN INDEPENDENT MEMBER-STATE OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TO SOW DEATH AND DESTRUCTION AND ULTIMATELY TO LEAD TO ITS DISMEMBERMENT. GREEK CYPRIOT AND GREEK TROOPS WERE TREACHEROUSLY ATTACKED FROM THE AIR AND ON THE GROUND AND WARSHIPS WERE SUNK IN THE MISTAKEN BELIEF THAT THEY WERE GREEK.

THE PRESENT TRAGEDY OF CYPRUS RESULTED FROM THESE ACTS. STRONG TURKISH MILITARY FORCES, SUPPORTED BY HUNDREDS OF TANKS AND HEAVY ARTILLERY, ATTEMPTED TO DESTROY THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. MORE THAN ONE THIRD OF CYPRIOT TERRITORY IS UNDER ENEMY OCCUPATION. THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES IN THE CRUCIFIED ISLAND LIVING IN OPEN COUNTRY IN APPALING MISERY EXCEED 200,000. USING NAKED FORCE, TURKEY VIOLATED ALL THE RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND ALL THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENTS, IN UTTER AND CYNICAL CONTEMPT OF ALL NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND MORALITY. IT IS NOW EVIDENT THAT THE AIM OF THE MASSIVE TURKISH FORCES WHICH LANDED ON CYPRUS IN VIOLATION OF EXISTING TREATIES WAS NOT TO PROTECT THE ISLAND'S TURKISH MINORITY BUT TO IMPLEMENT TURKEY'S EXPANSIONIST AND IMPERIALIST PLANS. THESE ACTS BY TURKEY NOT ONLY DEAL A HEAVY BLOW TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE; THEY ALSO CONSTITUTE A DIRECT THREAT TO PEACE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND IN THE WHOLE WORLD.

FACED WITH THESE TRAGIC EVENTS, WHEN A MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE ATTACHED AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY, THE ALLIANCE REACTED WITH SURPRISING APATHY, STRANGELY LIMITING ITSELF TO THE ROLE OF A MERE BYSTANDER.

WHETHER IT COULD NOT OR WOULD NOT, THE FACT REMAINS THAT THE ALLIANCE DID NOT SUCCEED IN RESTRAINING ONE OF ITS MEMBERS FROM UNDERTAKING SUCH ACTION AND WE WERE LED TO THE POINT WHERE THE THREAT OF A CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO OF ITS MEMBERS BECAME IMMINENT.

UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES MY GOVERNMENT WAS FORCED TO DRAW THE NECESSARY CONCLUSIONS. IF THE ALLIANCE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO PREVENT AN ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO OF ITS MEMBERS, WOULD IT BE ABLE TO COME TO THEIR SUCCOUR IN THE EVENT OF A DANGER FROM OUTSIDE? MY GOVERNMENT HAVE THEREFORE DECIDED THAT THEY MUST ASSUME THEMSELVES THE PROTECTION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE  
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AND PLACE AGAIN THE GREEK LAND, SEA AND AIR FORCES HERETOFORE ASSIGNED TO THE INTEGRATED ALLIED MILITARY ORGANIZATION UNDER NATIONAL COMMAND.

THE GREEK GOVERNMENT COULD NOT COOPERATE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ALLIANCE'S MILITARY ORGANIZATION WITH A COUNTRY WHICH, IN UTTER DISREGARD OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS, INFLICTED GREIVIOUS INJURY UPON AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF THE GREEK NATION. AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THIS DECISION GREECE SHALL RECOVER FORTHWITH, OVER HER ENTIRE TERRITORY, AIRSPACE AND TERRITORIAL WATERS FULL EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY WHICH WAS HERETOFORE LIMITED ON ACCOUNT OF HER PARTICIPATION IN NATO AND AS A RESULT OF THE PERMANENT PRESENCE ON GREEK SOIL OF FOREIGN MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AND FACILITIES OR OF THE REGULAR USE OF GREEK AIRSPACE AND TERRITORIAL WATERS BY FOREIGN MILITARY AIRCRAFT AND NAVAL

VESSELS.

GREECE IS READY TO EXAMINE WITH HER ALLIES THE PRACTICAL MEASURES CALLED FOR BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE DECISIONS.

ALTHOUGH THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE FAILED TO PREVENT THIS RECENT AND UNPRECEDENTED ACT BY TURKEY, IT MUST BE ADMITTED THAT IT DID SUCCEED OVER THE YEARS IN INTRODUCING A MEASURE OF STABILITY IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND PROMOTING A CLIMATE CONDUCTIVE TO INTERNATIONAL DETENTE.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON AND BECAUSE EAST-WEST RELATIONS REMAIN UNCHANGED IN THEIR BASIC ELEMENTS THAT GREECE ALTHOUGH WITHDRAWING FROM NATO DOES REMAIN A MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE DEDICATED TO ITS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

PLEASE ACCEPT, MY DEAR PRESIDENT, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

CONSTANTINE CARAMANLIS  
PRIME MINISTER

END QTE

5. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED.  
TASCA

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